FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

VOL. VI. NO. 28. SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, MAY 27, 1900. WHOLE NO. 268.

A MOTTO.

This hand to tyrants ever sworn the foe,
For Freedom only deals the deadly blow;
Then sheathes in calm repose the vengeful blade,
For gentle peace in freedom's hallowed shade.
—J. Q. Adams.

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ANARCHIST-COMMUNISM.

1. Do Anarchist-Communists believe in the common ownership of land and capital?

2. If the answer is yes, how are they to become common property?

3. Can a worker who owns a number of machines, the product of his own labor, keep them under Anarchist-Communism?

4. If he can, and if he uses them for productive purposes, can he keep the product?

5. Suppose a man has a piece of land which he is occupying and using, will he be permitted to continue to do so?

1. The exclusive occupancy and ownership of a particular portion of land and capital by any portion of humanity is wrong in principle. The individual, not having the inherent power, is unable to produce wealth without the aid of society at large, therefore the right to that exclusive power pertaining to private property is without foundation in equity. A community of individuals, not having produced the ingredients of the earth that enter into wealth, has only an equal right with others to the use of such materials. Property as it now exists is a product of past generations as well as the present. The dead past has left its imprint upon land and capital, and the individual, or a number of individuals, cannot show a sufficient reason for selecting a prolific center and excluding their fellows from participating in the benefits accruing therefrom. Private property being invasive in principle, community ownership of land and capital to the exclusion of others is equally invasive. A complete expropriation is required, the freeing of the sources of wealth, and the substitution of free production and free consumption for the present system in which the producers are shakled or debarred through individual corporate control of the sources and means of production. I believe the realization of liberty necessitates a grouping of humanity, the groups to be Anarchical, i. e., voluntary, producers, their privilege to associate, produce and consume limited solely by their inherent powers and desires.

2. An individual's or corporation's claim to land and capital, where such land and capital is in excess of use or requirement, or not actually operated by the claimant, must be surrendered and placed at the disposition of those using it along with others who desire to participate in its utilization. Expropriation may be either voluntary or otherwise: the invaded part of humanity may say to monopolizing invaders, Peaceably if you will, forcibly if we must. They may, if not, they shall, cease their exploitation.

3. How under Anarchist-Communism, any more than at present, the isolated individual will be able to produce machines is perplexing. If the individual can do so, the answer is yes. If the process of production is so complex, so far reaching as to necessitate associated effort, the individual will be at liberty to adopt either Communism or one of the various methods of profit-sharing that will doubtless take form under Anarchy. All that an Anarchist, the Individualist-Communist, can ask is that such enterprises operate by free contract, without an invading power of authority. Yet profit-sharing is competitive and necessitates division and exclusive claim to land and capital. The exchange of the surplus product would operate through price—a product of authority for equivalents—and be governed only by such power of authority contained amongst opposing competitors.

4. Yes, if the individual can produce the requisite materials and machines, and operate such of himself, he can consistently claim private property in the machines and their product. All the Anarchist-Communist can ask is the equal opportunity to do likewise.

5. Yes; I would not institute mob rule, jury rule, jails, nor any part of the parapharnalia of authority when once disposed of. That minorities differ from majorities proves only that the latter differ from the former. Quantity does not necessarily imply quality, and might cannot make right. I deplore all attempts to systematize society through that invader, the absolute majority. I would destroy the oft renovated State, instead of engrafting upon it a new form to satisfy those who wish to regulate the distribution of producers and their products by making the individual subject to authority. What matters it if the duties of majority representatives are administrative? I do not wish to see a lot of meddlesome fellows trying to determine—an impossible task—the individual's value to and place in society. I am opposed to the idea of the minority being made to support the machinery of government in order that the strong arm of the majority may extend wherever its wishes indicate, regardless of whether or not the act is invasive. Between two evils I would choose the lesser—the minority.—John Pawson.

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ACROSS THE CONTINENT.

VIII.

CAPLINGER MILLS TO DENVER.

The population of Caplinger Mills consists almost entirely of farmers. They are extremely slow in adjusting themselves to new ideas; but once convinced, they cling to them with an unshaken tenacity. I delivered three lectures here, bringing out the fundamental principles of Anarchism. The hoodlums of the place illustrated their devotion to law, order, and common decency, by attempting to break up the third meeting by maintaining a tremendous racket just outside the hall, and rotten-egging the proprietor when he opened a window to expostulate with them. These tactics, however, simply served to recoil on the heads of the miserable wretches who adopted them.

I shall never forget the day I left Caplinger Mills, for a drive of fourteen miles over the roughest kind of roads, in bitter cold and in the face of the fiercest blizzard of the season, is assuredly something to remember. I was forced, by the poor railroad connections, to remain over night in Sedalia, but had only a glimpse of the place.

After a day in Kansas City, where I had the pleasure of meeting Myra Peppers, one of the noble women of the radical movement, I passed on to Leavenworth, Kans. Here I stopped for two or three days as the guest of S. R. Shepherd, 415 Osage St. No radical in the country possesses a more strongly accentuated individuality. His methods differ from those of many others; but he is constantly diffusing the seeds of enlightenment and progress. As Leavenworth is practically dead to radicalism, no public lecture could be arranged; but I gave a parlor talk to a few interested people. I visited the penitentiary, where Moses Harman was formerly confined, and was allowed to see and converse with Jesse N. Lee, now imprisoned there on the charge of writing obscene letters. I liked him immensely, and came away a more bitter enemy than ever of the infamous Comstock laws. The whole story of this case is not to be made public; but there are few men capable of the chivalrous nobility of this victim of a malign persecution.

Leaving Leavenworth, I spent a couple of days in Wathena, and only wished that a longer visit had been possible. Volney and Mrs. E. A. Abbey, James and Mattie Cuddie, form a quartette hard to beat. There is no flaw in their radicalism, or in their hospitality.

My next objective point was Topeka. Here I tarried for a few days with comrade Alden S. Huling, 1125 Taylor St. Comrade Huling is the last person on earth the casual observer would take to be an Anarchist. Nature intended him for a comfortable bourgeois, but endowed him with too strong a conscience and too virile and independent an intellect to hold him in the ruts of conventional thought. He has not the slightest flavor of Bohemianism in any of his actions. He is scrupulously exact in all arrangements, and faultlessly precise in his diction. If displeased, he never becomes excited; but his evenly modulated voice becomes coldly severe, even to the verge of haughtiness. All this, however, is merely temperamental, and in no way detracts from the quality of his radicalism. He is an Anarchist by conviction, well understanding the fundamental philosophy on which the propaganda is based. He has one of the best collections of Anarchist literature I have ever seen, including books, pamphlets, files of journals, and a multitude of carefully arranged newspaper clippings. He is earnest in the movement, and an effective worker.

The conditions in Topeka are peculiar. Many of the leading officials of the State are, in the words of one of them to me, "ultimate Anarchists." They fully recognize the foundation-principles, and I was cordially received by them. But instead of coming out openly for the propaganda, they seek to "preserve their influence with the people," and to "do something practical," by taking part in all sorts of political schemes. If all in Kansas who admit themselves to be Anarchists at heart would come out openly as such, it would shake the very foundations of the present social disorder. But as it is, we have the extraordinary spectacle of an everwhelming undercurrent of sympathy with Anarchist principles, and yet almost no direct and open propaganda. It is an extreme and glaring illustration of the folly of compromise. A bold consistency is the only sure road to the triumph of principle.

My lectures in Topeka were entirely before labor unions. The labor movement in Kansas is pretty strong, and needs only to be well directed, in order to be a power for progress.

From Topeka, I went south, to deliver a couple of lectures in Sawyer, stopping over one night in Wichita, where I greatly enjoyed meeting N. C. Mathers. The prairie land of southern Kansas seems to me the drear-spot on earth in which to live; but it breeds some good radicals. Ed. E. Gore of Coats is a choice spirit, and, though handicapped by various circumstances, a splendid worker. There are no limits to his radicalism.

From the plains to the mountains, from the most monotonous of scenery to the most majestic expressions of nature, from Kansas to Colorada, my steps now turned. March 9 found me crossing the thereshold of Denver, for a visit long to be remembered.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

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The law is sacred. Yes, but rebellion may be sacred, too.—George Eliot.

Great occasions are the necessities only for which great men are the supplies. Great men even make occasions.—Mathews.

Let none falter who thinks he is right, and we may succeed. But if, after all, we shall fail, be it so; we still have the proud consolation of saving to our conscience and to the departed shade of our country's freedom, that the cause approved of our judgment and adored of our hearts, in disaster, in chains, in torture, in death, we never faltered in defending.—Lincoln.

FREE SOCIETY.

FORMERLY "THE FIREBRAND."

Published Weekly by Free Society Publishing Ass'n.

50 CENTS A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to FREE SOCIETY, 236 Clinton Park, San Francisco, Calif. For visitors off Market St. Castro car.

Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

MENDING SLOWLY.

Comrades everywhere will, no doubt, welcome with delight the returned mental activity of our able comrade Viroqua Daniels. As is evidenced by her article in this issue under the caption "Dry Diet vs. Drugs," she has sufficiently recovered to do SOME work and will most likely favor Free Society with her contributions more frequently hereafter, and regularly ere very long. Of course, she is by no means in her full vigor yet and is still obliged to be very careful and slow about her movements.

The financial assistance rendered by kind comrades so far has with the exercise of the strictest economy enabled Comrade Daniels to bridge over the worst stage of her trouble. Now, however, her treasury is again depleted, and if there are any comrades who had either remained unaware of her needs or had been unable to contribute when the previous calls were made their contributions would now be in just as good season, for it will take a number of weeks longer before our comrade will be enabled to earn her own livelihood.

Contributions should be directed to Comrade Viroqua's address at 1636 Delaware St., Berkeley, Calif.

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NOTE AND COMMENT.

Some of the members of the Free Reading Room, 129 E. 83d St., New York City, volunteer to contribute two dollars per month to the lecturing fund, hoping that through a combined effort an Anarchist lecturer will be enabled to travel permanently. Comrades interested in this proposition will please communicate with K. A. Snellenberg, 54 Haskins St., Roxbury, Mass.

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The impotency and unwillingness of governments to relieve their subjects from distress is again manifested in Russia and India. In both countries thousands and millions suffer starvation, while the respective governments spend millions upon millions for the purpose of invading and robbing the weak, leaving their own starving people to the mercy of charitable individuals. When will people learn that government is the cause of suffering?

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Some editors of the workingmen's press begin to see the cat. The Pueblo Courier says:

Standing armies are maintained for no other purpose except to hold the laboring people in subjection and make them subservient to the corporations. Legislative halls and court chambers are the rendezvous of capitalists who are privileged to rob and plunder the people under the guise of law.

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Another encouraging sign is a resolution presented at the convention of the Western Federation of Miners, suggesting that a fund be accumulated for the purpose of buying mining property, upon which employment could be given to union men out of work. It is also suggested to establish a co-operative union smelter works in Colorado. This is a great step in advance and would be much more effective than a so-called strike fund which is usually consumed without any beneficial result to the workers.

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In Russia the workers have had but little experience in strikes, but they have already learned that it will be more beneficial to establish their own factories than to spend millions of dollars to feed the strikers and to throw stones at the scabs. In Odessa, according to Russian dailies that were sent to us, the machinists, shoemakers, garmentmakers and bakers operate their own shops.

DRY DIET VS. DRUGS.

My interest was awakened by observations of Comrades Morton and James in Free Society, No. 26, respecting medicine, disease, etc. My invalidation has given me the chance to test various treatments and my last experience with a curative process prompts me to speak in its favor. It is as revolutionary in regard to all other schools, both old and new, for dealing with disease as is Anarchy to authority.

The adherents of this process claim: (1) it is nature's cure; (2) it was discovered by observing the manner of recovery of sick persons when no interference by doctoring was interposed; (3) there is but one disease, viz., abnormal or impure blood; (4) the renovating forces have but one system by which to purify the blood no matter what the kind of putrefaction.

Some explanation in connection with these claims,—claims which may to the reader seem preposterous—is necessary. I am sorry my insufficient strength will not permit me to give as full an account as I wish to.

(1) No drugs or knives are employed; in acute "attacks," as the poison is yet wholly in the blood, hydropathy aids the "doctor" where the obstructions to natural processes appear insurmountable; in chronic cases dry diet is the chief agent. (2) These discoveries were made, severally, by a number of persons, Germans, and were begun, as near as I can learn, in the first half of the 19th century. Their revolutionary character has prevented a ready understanding of the principles involved and the application of the methods of treatment. (3) It is a self-evident fact, although not evident to every one any more than the circulation of the blood formerly was, that impure blood, and that alone, is "disease." Every particle of the human system is penetrated and nourished by the blood. If from any cause,—too much, too little or an inefficient quality of food, exposure, unwise use of any of the functions of the body or outside elements,—becomes poisoned, the "sickness" is the cleaning process; this may be done by eruptions, sediment in urine, expectorations, etc. It is as absurd to dope drugs and expect them to perform this work as to expect them to assist a broken bone to knit, and they are not given to assist but to prevent the process, so completely are nature's methods misunderstood.

(4) The first thing done is to throw the surplus water out of the organism; dryness prevents further *decay* and enables the renovating agents to expel the rot already accumulated. The kidneys and skin are the hardest worked in the performance, but all the excretory organs may "join the procession."

The decomposed substances when accumulated in excess of the power of the organs to cast out are partly deposited in some portion or portions of the body. The impurities that the blood can still carry help to construct every tissue and cell of the organism, hence "disease" is never strictly local. From these deposits the legion of names of diseases are derived. The M. Ds. who gain and sustain reputations are those who have become experts in shifting these deposits so that the patient is "helped" or apparently "cured." If the waste remains in the body some other "disease" will surely demonstrate the fact. VIROQUA DANIELS.

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"CIVILIZED GOVERNMENT."

When letters as the following appear in the daily papers, there is yet hope that mankind will awaken before evolution starts in the wrong direction:

Editor Bulletin,—F. A. Oakey makes a naive admission of what constitutes civilized government when he says in his letter in "Defense of England" in a recent issue of The Bulletin that "it looks as if a great deal of fighting and killing is necessary." That the "political autonomy (independence) of some small part of the world's inhabitants is a small matter in comparison" with the realization of his ideal.

I always thought "civilized" government was organized to prevent "fighting and killing," and that its very existence is based upon its claim to protect the weak against the strong. And yet, in the light of recent events and modern tendencies, I am constrained to revise my attitude toward "civilized government."

"Civilized government" is plundering, pillaging and murdering without reason, justification or authorization in the Philippines, and in South Africa is turning loose the destructive forces of one empire of four hundred millions of people to prevent a quarter of a million of Boers from living on their own soil in their own way.

"Civilized government" exalts, glorifies and rewards the very crimes it is organized to prevent or punish, and seems plenarily indulgenced to break not only every one of the "Ten Commandments," but also every one of the ten thousand it preaches to others with a blunderbuss.

"Civilized government," in short, as we are learning to know it from its every manifestation at home and abroad, is nothing but a big glorified bully that hectors and blustors down all the best natural instincts and sentiments of humanity.

It is fitly typefied in that England today which sends out her "gentlemen volunteers," who fight for nothing nobler than empire—that false, mean, spurious and unmanly civilization which stands for unearned incomes, immunities, privileges, places, titles and power, as against that noblest and truest civil zation for which the gallant Boers battle—the right to live in their own land, on their own soil, by their own labor and under their own laws. HENRY J. WEEKS.

Oakland, 962 Seventeenth St.

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SOME OBSERVATIONS.

I saw Alfred Packer during the last week at our county jail where he was detained during a trial here in which he was a witness. Packer is the man who in the seventies supposedly ate one of his fellow men in the wilds of a Colorado forest. When tried he was found guilty and sentenced to forty years imprisonment, seventeen of which he has served. When I was introduced he was informed that I was an Anarchist. He looked at me smilingly and said he thought me a mildlooking one; he had the same time-worn idea of indiscriminate destruction and bombs in relation to Anarchists. I enlightened him as best I could under the circumstances, and he seemed deeply interested, asking me to send him some literature to the "pen" after his return. He wanted to know how we should deal with murderers under Anarchy. I told him murderers are generally invaders upon some one and must be suppressed for protection * and that murder under Anarchy would be as great a crime as now if not a greater one, for now most invaders are half insane through the deprecations and grind and general injustice worked by the present social system. Packer never knew we had comrades buried East who had been murdered by the State and laws. He felt shocked at my enlightenment. *He* realizes the injustice of law; he also realizes that such measures are not always wholesome, even for society. He wondered, however, if, under Anarchy, men would respect the rights of others. I thought they would and assured him that eventually we should try it; that if men under such favorable circumstances as would obtain under Anarchy did not respect the rights of others they certainly were insane or wilfully malicious which itself is a specious of abnormality and which the invaded parties would determine how to deal with.

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Sappho, the "obscene," "immoral," "low," was produced here for two weeks and there was no thought of suppression by our police; I fail to see why it was necessary to suppress it in New York. As a drama I think it bad only as a poor rendition of a wonderful portrayal of human nature. Other than that—the fact that Fitch the dramatist does not rise to Daudet's ideas I cannot see one thing to me questionable.

It is not even a good play and is too indifferent to be bad as far as "morals" go. Sappho makes love—violent love,—but to me the whole thing had an odor of fried onions and soapsuds as we find in our tenement districts. Sappho bawls out in a strident split voice, in the vernacular of the Latin quarter, quarrels, smashes things generally and faints, all of which is decidedly inopportune, but not immoral. The whole play is poor in effect, acting, tendency. It has nothing to recommend it, certainly nothing to merit suppression.

Jean is "virtuous," Sappho a "harlot" early in the game; they finally change around. Sappho gets respectable and marries—and the curtain goes down, leaving us to do with each in accordance with our mental conception.

Only one remark Sappho made stays with me—relative to their neighbors who were married. "O," says she, "they are bourgeois and virtuous"—witty, if not very truthful.

My opinion is that the sultry, sodden "purity" element of New York reeking with disorder and rottenness had little to do to suppress, in the name of "decency," the play which is neither indecent or obscene in even the sense of conventional phraseology.

In Illinois a law will be introduced this coming session that will make it a misdemeanor for any male citizen to fail to exercise the right of franchise, the minimum fine being two dollars, the maximum to be decided.

I always thought voting was the right of choice granted to the individual, that right presupposing a right to exercise no choice. The latter is to be denied the citizens of the *butcher-State* of Illinois.

I think some comrades and some others will "do time" on that enactment. I wish we could flood the introducer with kicks, in the shape of letters, for it is evident it is only one more kick of a dying monster to reassure itself that it is still living—government.

BERT BRUKE.

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* That is misrepresenting Anarchism. Under Anarchy murder will be a rare occurence as the incentive to all crimes is reduced to a minimum. Most crimes today are committed against property. Abolish monopoly and you remove the incentive to crimes. But if murder here and there should be committed, it is impossible to say what would be done with the murderer. Circumstances and surroundings would determine. But to tell people that we would "suppress" murderers implies that we also require a government. No one knows what people will do under freedom and to say what they ought to do, smacks too much like Catholicism. A. I.

OPPOSED TO POLITICS.

I am decidedly opposed to Comrade Addis in his plea for political action. I know many politicians who hate government and its tricks as much as Addis does, but got into it and are smirched and debased by it. Addis' argument reminds me of the argument used by Butterworth (in the Breckenridge-Pollard suit: "Gentlemen of the jury, I appeal to you for a standard up to which American womanhood *must be held*—a standard for our wives, mothers and sisters." I thought at the time a man who did not trust his mother without having a jury to make standards for her must be a low type of man or have had poor examples of femininity to deal with; but there is no doubt he felt unless women were closely watched they would be as bad as the "Hon." Breckenridge.

So Addis wants to help the politicians muddle the brains of the workers although he knows it's bad business and the root of all evil to even force our opinion on another though we believe it to be for their good in ordinary affairs of life. If this is bad, what must the concentrated form be like backed by guns, policemen and jails?

I am sorry to see comrades dragged into this position. I have seen so many men of promise, mentally and morally, ruined by this position, but I heartily agree with Addis in the idea of the symposium. Yet its good will be nullified if, as at present, those in the movement against capitalism and invasion and oppression preach so much and practice so little. Any one can put on the tag Anarchist and howl at the other fellow, but to live the Anarchistic life of non-invasion is not so easy. Still we are not compelled by government to violate it except in the economic life where we are pitted against each other. S. PATTON.

METHODS AND TACTICS.

In the ddiscussion now going on in the columns of Free Society as to methods for propagating Anarchy, there has arisen the question: shall Anarchy, in order to propagate itself, march into the political arena? True, it has not been presented in so bold a form, yet that will be the logical sequence of levying money (tribute) on politicians for propaganda expenses, if practiced. Just fancy Anarchy, the negation of authority, consorting with politics! That would be inconsistency with a vengeance, inconsistency as humorously absurd as the idea of Anarchist judges, juries and lawyers. How can those who have done so much for the advancement of Anarchy, and who understand it so well, get so tangled in their reasoning? Still, their reasoning may be correct and mine may be wrong. But I think not; for in society are two organized forces—Church and State. One imposes mental, the other physical servitude. Both are maintained by the drones of society for the purpose of plundering the workers and to secure them (the drones) in the possession of their ill-gotten gains, to the end that they may not, of necessity, be obliged to surrender the pleasures of idleness and to take up the burden of toil. These forces are operated by means of priest and politician —priestcraft and statecraft.

To this arrangement Anarchy, as I understand, is opposed, and is forced, logically, to strive to encompass the dissolution of those two great instruments of oppression. The personal interests of priest and politician are linked to the maintenance and continuation of Church and State supremacy, and to the them suppression of Anarchy is as vitally important as the dissolution of those two forces—Church and State—are to the workers. Expediency is their advisor in the selection of means for suppression. If it is more expedient to contribute a few cents toward defraying the expense of an Anarchist meeting, or for a judge or a would-be judge to contribute, in private, a few friendly words than to suppress the meeting, then the contribution will be made, but Anarchy suffers as a result of being caressed by the poisonous embrace of its venomous foe.

Of all the parts of the great movement that is striving for the betterment of mankind, Anarchy alone has kept itself pure and true to its avowed principles. Flirting with priests and politicians, advocating Anarchist judges, juries and lawyers and advising the practice of inconsistency, may win doubtful applause and, to be plain-spoken about it, questionable associates for the practioner of such methods, but it is not propagating Anarchy, it is "doing politics." Anarchy is iconoclastic, therefore it cannot be politic. Progress for this reason is slow. Old customs, ideas and institutions that must be broken, vigorously protest and resist, and the position assumed by a writer, as expressed in the following quotation, is erroneous: "Self-sacrifice and martyrdom are relics of religious fanaticism, justifiable where a golden crown is to be gained, but have no part in the Anarchist philosophy."

Neither is it recorded, that those who gave their blood as fuel to keep the fires of liberty and science ablaze were actuated by so gross a purpose, as a hope to gain a golden crown, as this writer would have us think. CON LYNCH.

A REJOINDER.

In answer to Comrade Byington's "random shots," I would say I have no desire to exchange "shots" in reference to the meaning of Anarchist-Communism. Let it pass as "having no fixed meaning." I could say the same in regard to Anarchist-Individualism. I am glad to know, however, that we have no pope to lay down a rule or draw a line; that notwithstanding our divers opinions in regard to methods we can, as he says, "work together in propaganda and recognize each other as genuine Anarchist-Communists." And why? Because we are genuine individualists, working for the object of true equality, absolute liberty. We reeognize the individual as the highest authority. If our differences are fundamental, so be it. There is an unanimity among us to our real enemy —authority, whether it be known under the name commercialism or government or organization.

In his article in liberty he had supposed a condition of Anarchist-Communism and mentioned "groups of Prohibitionists" who sought to convert the whiskey made by another group into varnish, and I replied that "groups of Prohibitionists" under such condition was an absurdity. But the printer made me say "groups of protection" which is a very different thing. I hope this correction will assist Byington when he wants to "know where to find Ballou." But allow me to suggest that if Byington wants to discuss with me, let him choose a theme that has some "fixed meaning," organization and sovereign authority, for instance. Let him show the fundamental difference between these and government. That is to say government as it is and organization as it would be in the absence of government.

In regard to my hitting at him as being "a Prohibitionist," my authority was his words to the members of A. L. W. C. He then said he was "a Christian, a Prohibitionist, a Single Taxer and an Anarchist." (I quote from memory.) And I supposed an editorial writer in Liberty was "associated with the Anarchist movement." I have read much, if not most of his writings since, and have never seen anything to make me believe he had changed his opinion.

He says "Ballou wants to turn my question about the meaning of Anarchist-Communism." It needed no turning as it stood,—it was a self-evident contradiction. He now admits that "to go turning whiskey into varnish without the whiskey-makers leave is plain government, and must be suppressed or else we have no Anarchy." And I think he has plainly admitted that Anarchy—no government—is as essential to Anarchist-Communism as to Anarchist-Individualism. But is really "groups of Prohibitionists" plain government? Isn't Byington giving himself away? Have not the Prohibitionists as good a right to organize and enforce their ideas as the whiskey-makers? I sought to show that his question was a boomerang and hit himself more than the object flung at. I realize that whatever defends property "that's commercialism," and it seems to me whereas government was organized for that purpose and is everywhere recognized as the only possible plan that can protect and defend property, the commercialist ought to stick to government. And this is why I said I thought Hugo Bilgram more consistent as an advocate of "mutual money."

Byington says my "Anarchy is a sort of millennium." I think it quite unnecessary to answer this sort of argument or assertion. It has been made against every reform started, and likewise his assertion that "there are in this country several million Anarchists of the Ballou type." I should be rejoiced if it were true; but those "saintly" people he classes me with are in reality advocates of the most despotic government. Of course they all believe the present government to be wrong, but sovereign authority, some power to force men to do "right" is very essential to them. Byington should not go back on his friends. They come nearer his type than mine and I think his Christian friends have more cause to feel offended at his remarks than Comrade Morris has at mine. Byington's inference that in saying as I did "Morris preferred to write for those who read to learn rather than to criticize" might be construed to mean that he would "swallow whole whatever his paper prints," is, to say the least, farfetched. I supposed that the dullest reader would know that "to read and to learn" required a critical mind. But I fear our comrade's "mill of criticism" throws off as chaff much truth to get its flour of argument.

I cannot close this without again thanking our comrade for his many admissions and general fair treatment. It is refreshing to find an opponent of his school admitting that Anarchist-Communism may contain some germs of liberty, and I am pleased to believe that his influence reacts in Liberty, for in a late issue its chief actually mentions voluntary Communism. I want to assure friend Byington the fact that "no man can set a limit to the time that will be taken to accomplish one such reform," cuts no ice with me whatever. I prefer the motto of Davy Crockett: "Be sure you're right and then go ahead," coupled with the determination of Gen. Grant, who said "I'll fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." While it would afford great joy to know that I should see the fruition of my thought, the fact that I do not even expect to see its blossoms, affects no discouragement. My propaganda is a work of love. My only regret is that my ability is poor, and my circumstances weak; and yet from my poverty corner with limited vision I seem to see a great wave of individuality rising. The independent mind is everywhere throwing off the shackles of custom and fashion, not only demanding liberty for themselves, but more willing to grant it to others. Reform in a "great many respects" is on the march. Byington may not be called upon "to do something with men as they are." His "means" are fast becoming a back number. A. L. BALLOU.

East Elma, N. Y.

For Chicago.

Decoration Day, picnic and meeting in the woods, north of Waldheim cemetery. Bring your lunch. Meeting called at 2 o'clock, important matters to be considered. Comrades Mrs. Parsons, Jay Fox and others will speak.

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THE SAVING QUESTION AGAIN.

I will assure S. T. Byington that I do not care a continental about the merits of his style, or his method of argument, or any flaws which he may think he can pick in mine. All which interests me is the facts. Accordingly I can see but one question between us requiring any particular attention. That is whether saving, for investment, produces wealth or poverty. I say it produces poverty. Byington says this is absurd upon its face. I must decline to think that his saying so proves anything. I can give reasons for thinking that saving, for investment or otherwise, produces poverty. I have already given them; but as some readers may have forgotten, here they are again. If a shoemaker denies himself tobacco in order to save, it strikes me as evident that for every penny he saves in this way the producers of tobacco have a penny less. Thus all the other producers—the shoemakers among them— will also have a penny less. Therefore, every penny saved by our shoemaker is twopence lost to the world. A penny saved is twopence wasted! Oh, but, says Byington, the shoemaker does not bury the penny; he puts it in a bank. Cannot you see that this is only obscuring the necessary conclusion by making the claim of causes and effects a little longer? What does the bank do with the penny? Lends it, at interest, of course, (perhaps) to some producer whom it may assist in production; for which reason Comrade Byington asserts that saving for investment stimulates production and exchange. But what is this producer's motive in producing? Either to consume or to sell. As consuming is the opposite to saving, we may leave that out. His motive is to sell. And how can he sell unless there are persons will ng to buy? And how can there be persons willing to buy unless there are persons less thrifty than our shoemaker? Saving enriches the individual only on conditions that he saves *more than his neighbors*. It necessarily impoverishes them; and, unless they save less than he does, it impoverishes him too. This is not theory. The experiment has been tried. A community which has adopted the gospel of Poor Richard, unless it trades with one more luxurious and extravagant than itself, is always, and, of course, a desperately poor community. I instanced "Jewtown," New York, as described in Riis' Century papers, "How the Other Half Lives." Here, as he tells us, the prevailing object of ambition is to become a sweater; —the method, saving to the point of starvation. The best starvers do become sweaters. The rest?—well, they die. That the sweaters eat them when starved sufficiently, is as literally true as that the survivors of Greeley's Arctic expedition lived by eating their comrades who had starved to death.

Comrade Byington says unproductive consumption causes poverty as much, and for the same reasons as unproductive hoarding. Now I invite him to put this aphorism in his pipe and smoke it— *All consumption is, in the last analysis, unproductive*. The only end of production is to consume. A linen mill would be as useless as a pot of buried gold if people were not extravagant enough to wear out linen unproductively. It is true production steadily outruns consumption; and thus the world grows richer. One way in which production outruns consumption is through creation of instrumeuts to assist production—such as linen mills —which last a good while. Another is production of articles whose consumption though an end in itself, is slow, such as dweling houses, gold and silver plate, etc. Still another is the annual excess of more perishable products over immediate demand, which leaves a margin for seed and cases of emergency. But production outruns consumption because consumption keeps up a call for it. Let the final cause—consumption—cease, and production ceases too. We daily see this illustrated when the use of some commodity goes out of fashion. Well, whoever saves, to the extent of his ability, puts all commodities out of fashion, and stops their production accordingly.

Why not then break windows to help the poor glaziers? Surely it is reason enough that consuming windows in that way is not conducive to my own comfo-t. I don't smoke tobacco—as I am doing now—to help the poor tobacco men, but because I like tobacco. I contend, however, that my smoking tobacco does benefit the tobacco men, and through them, those whose goods they buy; and therefore, unless I am foolish enough to injure my health by excess, that it benefits all mankind and hurts no one. Would breaking windows help the glaziers? Perhaps, under very peculiar circumstances, as a strike or crisis in their trade, it might. But I think this a very common sense conclusion that production is promoted mainly by desire; that he promotes it most who most fully—that is most judiciously—satisfies his desires; and thus that waste and luxury have nothing economically in common. It is doubtless true also that luxuries accessible in the present social state to none but the wealthy, do not, by their consumption, benefit the producers generally as much as those whose consumers are themselves producers for the most part poor. If they could be made more generally accessible they would, however. I can imagine that a rich woman who really wanted to promote the benefit of the poor might do better than give five hundred dollors for a dress. I cannot imagine her spending the money better than on a scheme of reform which made it probable silk dresses would become as common as cotton ones. Once more, I have no doubt that money invested in production is very often better applied than in the direct satisfaction of desire. I cannot admit it necessarily is. Much such money is totally wasted—all such money would be if parsimony were suddenly made much more common than it is—through failure of the product to sell. This but illustrates the truth that there are more and less judicious ways of satisfying desire.

And the most judicious, I suppose Byington will say, is to save and put your money in the bank, till you can live comfortably on the interest. But I demur. I have looked a little into bank statistics, and I find that for the largest part of the money which banks contain is not put there by parsimonious persons seeking interest but by men who, amid the fluctuations of trade from time to time find themselves in possession of funds which they do not immediately need, and deposit mainly for safe keeping. This discovery completely disposes of the alleged benefits of parsimony. The evils remain intact. That parsimony discourages trade, and therefore production; that the demand for money at interest is made primarily by "strikers," cornerers, speculators, land-buyers; that it fixes a rate of usury which the distressed borrower, who might otherwise secure loans gratis, on the mutual accommodation principle, must pay—that this interest, the incentive to parsimony, is a bribe held out by government, landlords, and other thieves to that class of producers whom they thus engage against the rest—all this is just as true as if the reserve fund needed for great enterprises were really furnished by parsimonious producers. Is saving till one can live on the interest of his money a judicious way of satisfying desire? Yes—for a hog; on condition that his neighbors are not such hogs as he. Let them become so, and the matter resolves itself into a starving-match. His chance to be the richest man in a poor community depends, in that case, on his ablility to stand more starving than the rest. It may be added that the richest man in a poor world is not very well fixed after all. C. L. JAMES.

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